

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
 OA19 Ifugao OA19
 Apayao OA5
 Isneg

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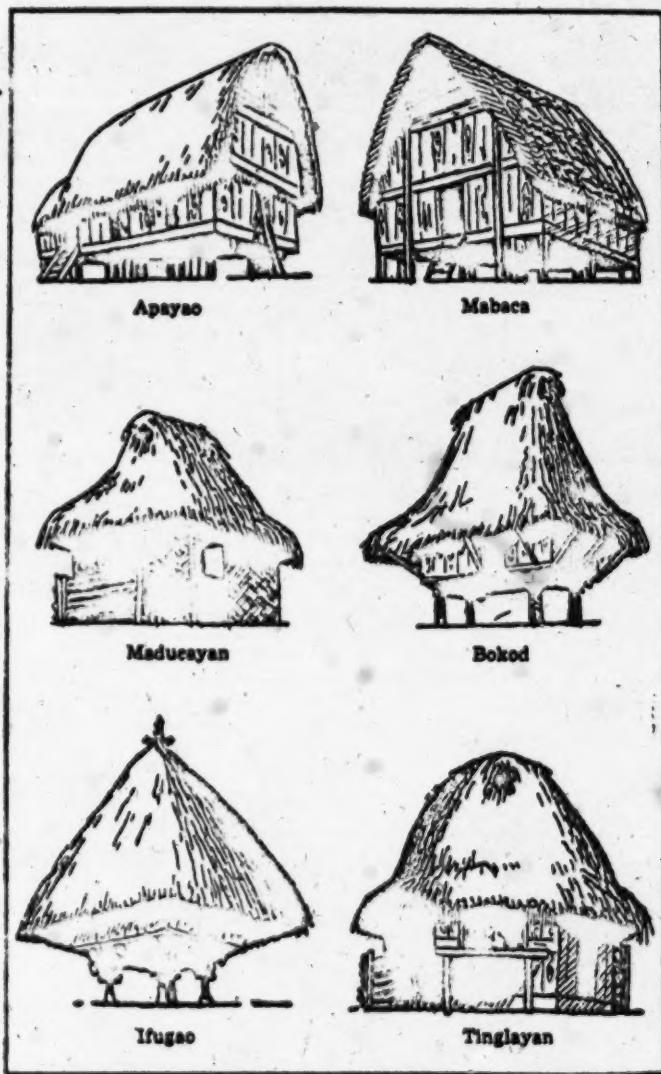


Fig. 1.—Representative houses of the Mountain Provinces.

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on the joists, as are the four sills (*opop*) mortised into them which receive the wall-boards (*dingding*) in rabbeted grooves. About waist-high the walls are strengthened by a kind of moulding (*balkes*) running around the four sides, and the upper ends of the wall-boards are fitted into beams called *goanan* (the equivalent of the Ifugao *wanan*). Small tie-beams or crossbeams (*anaya-san*) run from side to side from front to back, resting on these *goanan*, and carrying two kingposts (*kalasod*) which support the ridgepole (*bobongan*). The ridgepole is longer and the rafters (*dagat*) shorter in the Bokod house than in most Mountain Province houses, so the exposed walls are given protection by a wide-flaring set of eaves (*sibey*) requiring their own rafters (*tikel*) with supporting braces (*sedngal* or *tedmek*), three on a side. The proportions of the Bokod house make it possible to walk upright under the eaves, which is possible in only some of the Ifugao houses and none of the Bontoc houses. Moreover, the square floor plan characteristic of the Southern Strain is sometimes extended into a rectangle by the addition of posts or another girder or floor joist.

The characteristics of the Northern Strain can be seen at their most sophisticated in the ingenious Isneg house (Fig. 6) with its rafters bowed into the shape of a Gothic arch, its floor and roof supported on completely independent series of posts, and the floor itself having slightly raised platforms along both sides. The Isneg floor plan, in contrast to the square houses higher on the Cordillera, is conceived in an elongated form, the underpinning vaguely suggesting marine architecture to the layman, with girders sometimes exceeding 24 feet, thus doubling the longest timbers of the buildings of the Southern Strain.

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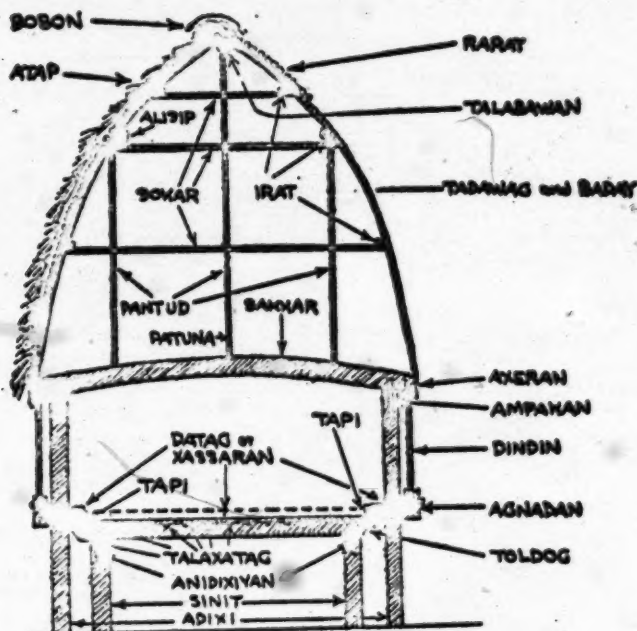


Fig. 6. -- Isneg binuron-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Malitaw, Namultugan, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, *CICM, The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*anadixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi-

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tudinal beams or stringers (*tapi*) whose top surface is about three inches higher than the flooring and into which are mortised, at the same level, four longer crossbeams (*agnadan*)—two at one end of the house and two at the other—which protrude a foot or more beyond the ends of the joists. Mortised into the outer ends of these crossbeams are their horizontal equivalent, sills into which the base of the wall-boards (*dingding*) are rabbeted; and between these sills and the parallel stringers short laths are also mortised to support a sort of flooring platform or seat about a foot wide along both sides of the house.

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A remarkable feature of the Isneg house is the way in which the roof is supported on posts which are set in the ground *outside* the floor-supporting posts but *inside* the wooden walls of the house, passing up through the little side platforms. These six posts (*adixi*) carry two longitudinal beams (*ampakan*), while three crossbeams (*sakkar*) are mortised into either the posts themselves or the *ampakan*-beams. Fitted into the outer ends of these crossbeams are longitudinal beams serving both as a base for the rafters (*tadawag* and *baday*) and as the upper track for the wall-boards, the appropriate groove being deep enough to allow the boards themselves to be lifted up and slipped out of the lower groove so that the house can be converted into a kind of open covered platform. From the crossbeams also rise a kingpost (*patuna* or *pantud*) and two queenposts (*pantud*), across which are three tiebeams (*sokar*) terminating in three purlins (*irat*) on each inner face of roof, which is a base of reeds (*varat*) to which the grass roofing (*atap*) is lashed. The rafters themselves, alternately wood and reed, are bowed into a graceful arc, and rise to a ridgepole (*talabawan*)

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which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect the smoke holes in the gables.

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The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of

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this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,¹⁰⁴ and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.¹⁰⁵ In the long sides of the house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side". Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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¹⁰⁴ Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

¹⁰⁵ Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.

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In the Mabaca Valley which flows along the northern edge of Kalinga Sub-Province on the Apayao border and into the lower Saltan River just before that stream joins the Chico River at Pinokpok are other houses of the "pure Northern Strain;" — that is, elongated and gabled. They do not duplicate, however, the complexity of the Isneg roofposts interwoven, as it were, between the walls and floor joists, and they have front doors entering the end of the house opposite to the annex or lean-to which here is a distinct room serving the purpose of kitchen rather than a kind of open platform. A photograph of a Pinokpok house taken a half-century ago¹⁰⁰ shows the sills carrying the wall-boards to be mortised into the roof-supporting posts, three on a side, with two more posts in between these three rising to the roof inside the wooden walls. In upper Mabaca and Buaya, these "extra" posts which have not been merged with the wall structure do not appear, the houses being shorter and the weight of the roof being distributed by enlarged purlins the size of the ridgepole itself, one on each side. These sturdy purlins form the fulcrum across which the rafters are bent, giving the roof on close inspection the shape of two shallow arcs rather than the continuous graceful curve of the Apayao roof. The pressure thus brought to bear on the purlins requires them to be carried at both ends on posts just as sturdy as the other roof-supporting posts, standing just outside the walls of the house at front and back. In Conner district of Apayao, similar houses have these purlin-supporting posts worked into the gabled wall as an integral part by mortising.

¹⁰⁰ The author is indebted to Dr. H. Otley Beyer for making this and other photographs available.

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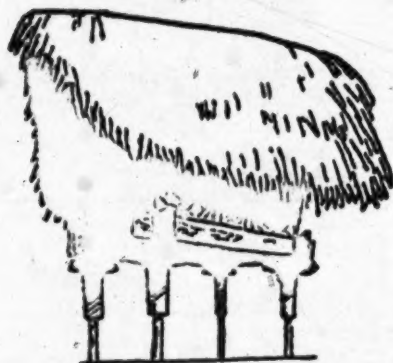


Fig. 10. — An Isneg granary (after Vanoverbergh).

also different: the storehouse rests on four girders mortised across one another on the same level with their ends protruding beyond the joint, which joints stand directly on the foundation posts. It is not surprising to find such simple supports nowadays under an increasing number of northern granaries whose walls are made of solid mortised planks.

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Under the general designation of "huts" we include field shelters and temporary campsites, the community dormitories of the Bontocs (*ato* for boys, *olog* for girls), and, somewhat unchivalrously perhaps, the houses of the poor. These structures are generally of somewhat makeshift character, but almost always have a ridgepole with a two-face roof (although rarely a simple sloping one-face "shed" roof). The walls of such huts are never wooden; they are most typically grass thatch, reeds or *sawali*, but sometimes bark. Three types of floor are utilized, depending upon the permanence of the building — a reed mat on the ground itself, an elevated bed-like platform independent of the rest of

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